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THE ADULT YEARS.

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THE AUTHOR DISCUSSES (1) THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ISSUES THAT PREOCCUPY DIFFERENT, ADULT AGE GROUPS AND (2) THE AGE-STATUS SYSTEM AS IT IS CHANGING IN AMERICAN SOCIETY. THE RELATIONS OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO THE SOCIAL GROUPS OF WHICH HE IS A MEMBER, THE WAYS OF ABSORBING AND USING NEW IDEAS, AND THE OBSTACLES AND OPPORTUNITIES THAT THE INDIVIDUAL RECOGNIZES IN FURTHERING HIS GOALS WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE THE CONCERNS ABOUT WHICH ADULT MEN AND WOMEN WILL TURN TO COUNSELORS FOR GUIDANCE AND ASSISTANCE. AS NEW PROBLEMS AND NEW SATISFACTIONS OF HUMAN LIFE ARE CREATED, MORE AND DIFFERENT TYPES OF ADULT COUNSELING WILL APPEAR IN SOCIETY, AND NEW EXPERTISE WILL BE EXPECTED. THE ISSUES AFFECTING ADULTHOOD ARE (1) THE INDIVIDUAL'S USE OF EXPERIENCE, (2) HIS STRUCTURING OF THE SOCIAL WORLD IN WHICH HE LIVES, (3) HIS PERSPECTIVES OF TIME, (4) THE WAYS IN WHICH HE DEALS WITH THE MAJOR THEMES OF WORK, LOVE, TIME, AND DEATH, AND (5) THE CHANGES IN SELF-CONCEPT AND IDENTITY AS INDIVIDUALS FACE MARRIAGE, PARENTHOOD, CAREER ADVANCEMENT AND DECLINE, RETIREMENT, ILLNESS, AND WIDOWHOOD. THIS ADDRESS WAS PRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE ON THE TRAINING OF COUNSELORS OF ADULTS (CHATHAM, MAY 22-28, 1965). (RM)

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THE ADULT YEARS

Bernice L. Neugarten*

In appearing as the second, rather than the first speaker of this conference; and in having been somewhat tardy in preparing this paper, my position has certain advantages and certain disadvantages.

First, I have had the advantage of seeing in advance, Dr. Michael's paper. As on earlier occasions when I have read something he has written, my perspectives on the world rather suddenly broadened; and although this produces a certain discomfort, it produces also a tremendous exhilaration. In this particular instance, having read his paper, I promptly tore up the first version of my own.

A certain disadvantage accrues, also, for it is difficult for any speaker to produce an equally provocative set of ideas. This is not only a personal, but a professional hazard, for given the state of our knowledge in the social-psychological area, most students of human behavior are even more hesitant in making predictions for the future than Dr. Michael. We know something of how the computer works and how it may be controlled; but we know far less of how the human individual works, what makes HIM tick, and how his behavior can be predicted.

Still I feel it incumbent upon me to talk about human individuals today -- not only because they are the objects of concern to counselors, but also because individual men and women, whether or not they are adequately prepared, will make the piecemeal decisions that will total up to the new ways of life that lie ahead and who will therefore control the great new society. The criteria for decision-making are becoming uncomfortably statistical and perhaps uncomfortably computerized; but the actual process of decision-making remains in the brains of individual persons.

These comments are not to be interpreted as constituting a plea for individual differences, nor for the maintenance of human values in a society that is moving at such breakneck speed, for such a plea is unnecessary with this audience. Instead these comments are intended to underline the fact that we know very little about the way the human brain operates; about human motivations; or about the patterns of biological and social variables that produce behavior of various kinds. I myself lack confidence, for instance, that lengthened exposure to the recorded experiences of mankind does, indeed, help make men wise. I believe, with Dr. Michael, that this is so; and there-

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fore, like him, I am concerned lest the lengthened time necessary for the preparation of technologists play havoc with what we have been accustomed to calling the "liberal arts" components of education. Yet the evidence on which we base this faith is at best equivocal.

Neither am I confident that the growing older population, as compared with the younger, will feel more dispossessed and will produce resistances to social change. We do not yet know much about the learning capacities of adults of various ages, nor how to differentiate between the affects of aging and the effects of given historical epochs in molding the attitudes of any given age-group.

In the same way, I can only guess whether the family will provide less, rather than more, guidance for youth tomorrow than today, for we have made only the first explorations of the potentials of the family as an institution. It would appear, for instance, that at least in some ways the family's values are influencing the structure of the formal bureaucratic organization, as well as vice-versa; and that large corporations are locating new plants so that men can be near their families as rapidly as they are moving young executives from city to city in pursuit of management's goals.

We stand on the threshold of a huge explosion of knowledge in the social and psychological sciences, as well as in the physical and biological, one that is likely to upset many of our present assumptions about "human nature."

What, then, should I venture to say on this platform today? First, perhaps, that there are likely to be, in the future as in the past, innumerable instances of social continuity as well as social lag; and that, as a consequence of both, people's lives in the next twenty years will not change as drastically as they might. I hope I am not merely retreating to the safe and to the known, but I think that as counselors and trainees of counselors we can expect to deal with recognizable acts of problems and that adults will have at least some of the same underlying concerns in the next few decades as they have had in the past two.

Biologists seem presently of the opinion, for instance, that human life span seems relatively fixed by genetic factors; and as they begin to separate the effects of aging from those of injury or disease, and as greater proportions of the population live to the biological limits of the human life span, we are nevertheless unlikely to lengthen that span itself. True, the biological engineering of which Dr. Michael has spoken may alter the genetic composition of the human species. Yet for the foreseeable future we are likely to deal with human organisms that will grow and develop to biological maturity in the first third of the life span; that will continue to grow psychologically and socially in the second and third parts of the life span; and that will age and die -- and accordingly that men and women will continue to face some of the same real-life issues even though these issues take new forms. I think it is safe to assume that young adults will continue to face different problems from those of middle-

aged and old adults; that the rhythm of life and longevity, the relations of the individual to the social groups of which he is a member, the ways of absorbing and using new ideas; the obstacles and opportunities that the individual recognizes in furthering his goals -- these will continue to provide the issues around which adult men and women will turn to counselors for guidance and assistance. In fact, if any prediction is safe, it is that as new problems and new satisfactions of human life are created; that as new occupational patterns appear; as new areas of goods and services emerge, the use of specialized professional and sub-professional "helpers" will grow. This means that more and different types of adult counseling will appear in the society; and that new expertise will be expected. We will come to look to specialized persons for guidance, not only for children, but also for our adults of all ages.

I recall, in this respect, a recent newspaper editorial which said, although with a somewhat different set of motives on the part of the editorial writer, that "since the government has been pouring out monies to help solve the problems of children on the one hand, and old people, on the other, it was inevitable that it would soon get round to trying to help us adult and middle-aged people..." It is this phenomenon that I, too, have in mind. To point out only two related examples: the formal educational institutions of our society have come to regard adults, not only children and adolescents, as their clients; and our concepts of mental-health services have changed from an image of face-to-face therapy between a doctor and a patient to one in which the total community is regarded as the mental-health unit. So also we have the thrusts to social change that may be described as the delineation of new areas of needs in the various groups that constitute the society; and to the production of services to meet those needs. There are social changes that provide cohesion in the society as well as changes that produce fragmentation.

But let us move, now, to a somewhat different perspective. Dr. Michael has been speaking from the perspective of historical time -- changes that will occur in the next few decades in the society as a whole, and with chronological time marked off in terms of calendar years. I wish to comment from a different time perspective -- that of lifetime, where age is the yardstick. I wish to make a few comments, first, about the age-status system as it is changing in American society and as delineations of age groups bears upon the issues of adulthood and upon the relations between individuals in the society; and then move to a few comments about the psychological issues that preoccupy different adult age-groups.

THE ADULT AGE-STATUS SYSTEM --

In America of the future, like in all societies, age is likely to be one of the important factors in determining the ways people will behave toward each other. Five-year-olds now show deference to 10-year-olds; and despite the flood of literature in the past decade that implies the opposite, adolescents still show deference to adults; and adults, to the old.

In all societies, certain biological and social events come to be regarded as significant punctuation marks in the lifeline, and to signify the transition points from one level of age-status to the next. Age-status systems emerge in which rights, and rewards are differentially distributed to age groups which themselves have been socially defined.

A modern complex society is characterized by plural systems of age status that become differentiated in relation to particular social institutions. These age-status systems make use of the common index of chronological age, but they vary in the extent to which they are explicit and formal. Age-grading in a typical American school, for example, is much more formal than in the typical American family. Social age definitions may be inconsistent from one institution to the next, as in the case at present when the male is defined as adult at 18 and is eligible for military service, and when the female is adult at 18 and may marry without the consent of parents; but when neither is adult enough to vote until 21.

As the American society changes from the agrarian to the industrialized to the computerized, so also there will be continuing changes in the social definitions of age, in age norms, in expectations with regard to age-appropriate behavior, and in relations between age groups in one after another of our social institutions: in the family, in the economic system, in the political and legal system, as well as in the educational system. These changes, not all of them coherent, are the accompaniment of underlying biological, social, and economic developments in the emergent society. There has been, first of all, the growth and redistribution of the population, with the presently high proportions of the very young and the very old; and the striking increase in average longevity which itself has produced a new rhythm of life-timing and aging. Superimposed upon this changing biological base, and reflecting the dramatic changes in technology, there have come far reaching alterations in the economic system, then in the family system, alterations which have led in turn to changing relationships between age groups.

Within the institution of the family, for example, the points along the lifeline at which the individual moves from "child" to "adolescent" to "adult" are easily defined. After physical maturity is reached, social age continues to be marked off by relatively clear-cut biological or social events. Thus marriage marks the end of one social age period and the beginning of another; as does the appearance of the first child, the departure of children from the home, and the birth of the children's children. At each stage, the individual takes on new roles, and his prestige is altered in relation to other family members. At each of these points he may be said to occupy a new position within the age-status system of the family.

Changes in timing of the events of the family cycle have been dramatic over the past decades, as age at marriage has dropped; as children are born earlier in the marriage; and, with increased longevity, as the duration of marriage has increased.

Marriage implies adulthood within the family cycle. With the lowering of age at marriage, it may be said therefore that adulthood is occurring earlier than before. The earlier timing of adulthood is reinforced also by the fact that parenthood is occurring earlier; and to the extent that parenthood means full financial and legal responsibility for offspring, parenthood is becoming shorter, for children are being born increasingly soon after marriage, are being spaced more closely together, and are then leaving home at an earlier age. It follows that grandparenthood also comes at an earlier chronological age than in preceding generations.

The family cycle may be said to have quickened, then, as marriage, parenthood, empty nest, and grandparenthood all occur earlier now than in 1900. At the same time, widowhood tends to occur later. The trend therefore is toward a more rapid rhythm of events through most of the family cycle; then an extended interval (now some 15 to 17 years) in which husband and wife are the remaining members of the household, a period which has come to be called the period of the gerontic family. This quickened rhythm of maturity in the family is not paralleled in other institutions of our society.

Getting married, although it defines maturity within the family, is no longer synchronous with the attainment of maturity in the economic sphere, for example, as it was at earlier times. No longer does marriage signify that the legal head of the household is ready to be the breadwinner; nor does it signify that the period of his formal education and occupational training is coming to a close. With the needs of the American economy for larger and larger numbers of technical and professional worker, the length of time being devoted to education is correspondingly increased for more and more young people. There is not, however, an accompanying delay with regard to marriage, as was true in preceding generations. In 1961, for example, of all males enrolled in colleges and graduate schools, more than one out of five were married; for those aged 25 to 29, 60 per cent were married.

The accompanying phenomenon is the young wife who works to support her husband through school. The changing roles of women, but particularly the changing sex-role patterns with regard to the timing of economic maturity, are reflected in the rising proportion of young married women who are in the labor force. In 1890, only 6 per cent of married women aged 14 to 24 were working; by 1960 it was 31 per cent. While these percentages reflect marriages in which husbands are working as well as those in which husbands are still in school, they reveal in both instances not only that young wives are increasingly sharing the economic burdens of new households, but also that young women are doing so at younger and younger ages. The social age of economic maturity is being more and more frequently deferred for males; but not for females.

The new rhythms of social maturity impinge, of course, upon aspects of family life other than the division of economic responsibility between young husbands and wives. Parent-child relationships, so much a focus of concern

to Americans of all ages, are influenced in many subtle ways by the fact that half of all new fathers are now under 23 and half of all new mothers, under 21. Changes in parental behavior, with fathers reportedly becoming less authoritarian and with both parents sharing more equally in tasks of home-making and child-rearing, may reflect in part this increasing youthfulness. It is the relative youth of both parents and grandparents, furthermore, that may be contributing to the complex patterns of help between generations that are now becoming evident, including the widespread financial help that flows from parents downward to their adult children. Similarly, with more grandparents surviving per child, and with an extended family system that encompasses several generations, new patterns of child-rearing are emerging in which child-grandparent relations take on new significance.

It is of interest, in this connection, that in a recent study in which various styles of grandparenting were delineated, we found younger grandparents (those under age 65, as compared with over 65) more often following what we called the fun-seeker pattern. The fun-seeker is the grandparent whose relation to the child is characterized by informality and playfulness, who joins the child in specific activities for the specific purpose of having fun, somewhat as if he were the child's playmate. Grandchildren are viewed by these grandparents as a source of leisure activity, as an item of "consumption" rather than "production," and as a source of self-indulgence. The relationship is one in which authority lines are irrelevant, and where the emphasis is on mutuality of satisfaction.

Changing age-norms and changing relations between age-groups can, of course, be readily illustrated in the economic institutions of our society. Dr. Michaels has already pointed to the enormous effects upon society of the growth of leisure, but I should like to draw your attention to its effects upon different age-groups as well as upon the two sexes.

If we regard two major points, entry and exit from the labor market, then for men, the period of economic productivity has been shortening over the past decades, as both young and old are increasingly excluded from the labor market. On the one hand, unemployment is not only a teen-age phenomenon, but it is disproportionate also in men under age 25. At the other end, the proportion of men aged 65 and over who are now employed is about half the proportion employed in 1900. The removal of older men from the labor force results in an earlier onset of "economic old age."

This trend, together with increasing age restrictions in employment, has had widespread social consequences for the age-status system in America. As with teen-agers, one effect has been, of course, to delineate the group over 65 as a special age group, one with special economic and social needs. The effects have not all been in the direction of lowering the status of the aged, however. Despite the fact that a higher proportion of the aged suffer economic deprivation than in other age groups, and despite the belief that the aged are assigned a position of low status in industrialized societies, the fact

is that the aged now constitute a leisured class, and the effects are not uniformly detrimental to their prestige in the society, a point to which we shall return.

The pattern of labor force participation is a very different one for women than for men. In the past fifty years changes have gone in somewhat opposite directions. The proportion of women in the labor market has not only risen dramatically, but the characteristics of women who work have changed even more strikingly. The typical woman worker is now a married woman with children; and one of every 3 such workers has children at home under 18.

It is the change in age distribution that is of special interest, however. Not only has the proportion of very young women in the labor force been increasing, but it is in the middle years that the change is most striking. For women aged 35 to 44 the proportion now working is over 40 per cent; and for women aged 45 to 54, it is 50 per cent. For most men, the trend has been to shorten the total number of years spent in the labor force -- for most women, the trend is in the opposite direction. Although they work fewer years than men, women's work lives are lengthening as men's work lives are shortening.

In the present context, the implication is not only that many women have become economic producers for the first time in their middle years (although this is indeed the perception of themselves that many women hold); the implication is, rather, with regard to the age-status system. The return to the labor force has brought with it for large numbers of American women, but particularly for those at higher levels of education, an increase in status that affects the relationships, not only between the sexes but between the generations within the family. It is not only the mother who works now, but also the grandmother.

I realize that these trends are likely to be upset altogether by the forces of cybernation, and that there will be less work for women as well as for men in the next 20 years. Nevertheless, changes in the timing, maturity, and post-maturity in economic terms already are so fundamental that they have led to the broad redefinitions of age groups that may be said to have emerged in America over the past 50 years as adolescents on the one hand, and the aged, on the other, have been set apart as special groups in the society.

The differences in social aging are apparent also in middle age. Lightened family responsibilities, and the taking on of new economic and civic roles now tend to coincide with the biological changes of the climacterium, producing an increasingly accentuated transition point in the lives of women. A few generations ago, with children spaced further apart, the last child married and the nest emptied, as it were, when women were in their mid-fifties. Today, this event occurs when women are in their forties, at about the same time that the menopause occurs. This is the age also when the number of women on the labor market at present takes a sharp upturn. The significance

of this new transition point with regard to definitions of social age is reflected, perhaps, in the increasing frequency with which the phrase, "the middle-aged women" is being used by sociologists, cartoonists, and other observers of the American scene to delineate a special age-sex group.

The social definition of old age, on the other hand, is more clearly delineated for men than for women, given the facts of retirement and the major change this produces in the lives of men.

Time does not permit a more extensive examination of changing age-status systems in America, but I should like to comment briefly that with the increased delineation of both adolescents and the old as special age groups, the question has often arisen of whether or not these groups may be said to constitute sub-cultures, in the sense that members of each group are interacting more with each other than with persons of other ages and are thereby creating their own manners and customs. A related question is the extent to which the old, like adolescents, are becoming age-segregated as well as age-separated.

The question is debatable. The increase in the proportion of those who are retired has made the aged not only a socially visible group but one which has become the focus of both social-service and political action in recent decades. There are tendencies, also, toward residential segregation. The aged are disproportionately to be found in older neighborhoods of large cities and in older suburbs. There are a growing number, although still a small proportion, who migrate to retirement communities in Florida, California and other states. In such communities a sub-culture of the aged may be developing, one oriented to the use of leisure.

THE ISSUES OF ADULTHOOD

Having commented, if only briefly, upon the age-status system as one context in which to view the adult portion of the life-span, I should like to move one step closer to the likely concerns of counselors-of-adults and to comment briefly upon the different constellations of social-psychological issues that characterize young adults, middle-aged, and old.

In a sense the counselor-of-adults will be dealing with certain psychological issues in all adult age groups: the individual's use of experience; his structuring of the social world in which he lives; his perspectives of time; the ways in which he deals with the major life themes of work, love, time, and death; the changes in self-concept and changes in identity as individuals face the successive contingencies of marriage, parenthood, career advancement and decline, retirement, widowhood, and illness.

I do not know if, in the week's deliberations, you will be discussing the preparation of counselors-for-adults who will work primarily within educational institutions, or if you are concerned with persons who will work in a

wide variety of community settings: within the factory and the corporation, the clinic, the church, the neighborhood club, as well as within the school. Hopefully you will not draw the lines too clearly, since it appears to me that, by and large, the counseling that presently goes on with adults in educational settings -- and especially with the middle-aged -- is presently handicapped for exactly the reason that it is limited to a focus upon education itself without the broader view of the problems and preoccupations that characterize adulthood. Because there has been little development as yet of a psychology of adulthood, counselors often feel themselves unequipped to deal with the wider array of real-life problems. A middle-aged or older client now comes away from an encounter with an educational counselor with the feeling that the counselor doesn't understand the "real" issues -- certainly if the counselor himself was a relatively young person -- a comment that I have heard often, in a group of army officers whom we were studying and who are preparing to retire in their middle years; and in mature women who have gone to seek vocational or educational counseling.

As representatives of universities, I take it for granted that all of us here are familiar enough with the nature of adolescence and of young adulthood and with the issues involved in the transition, so that I need not dwell upon the period of young adulthood. Presumably counselors with educational institutions deal already with a wide array of life problems -- the ways certain of our "cool" young people move from uncommitted positions to committed, and the ways they adopt conventional or unconventional work, family, and community roles...the use of contraceptives and the effects of legitimate as well as illegitimate pregnancies upon both male and female occupational plans; the ways in which young men and women try to establish emotional independence from parents without the accompanying financial independence; the initial job placements and the launching of careers; the selection of appropriate adult "sponsors," whether these be faculty members who provide apprenticeship relations in graduate school training or particular business corporations where young men and women will get what we regard as a "proper" start... and the ways young men and women follow an internalized social clock that acts as a prod or a brake and that tells them they are "on time," "early," or "late" with regard to marriage, parenthood, economic independence.

I should like to focus for a few minutes upon the middle years of life, where some of our current studies are revealing a set of issues that are typically age-related and that do not seem to appear in either younger or older groups. Among the major preoccupations of mid-adulthood, as described by men and women who are presently in the forties and early fifties are these: the ways in which men rationalize their career achievements, and how, while some feel they have reached a plateau, others worry lest they are sliding and still others look ahead to better things yet to come. There is the launching of one's children into the adult world and readjusting to changes in family relationships after the children are gone...coping with decrements in energy, physical health and sexual potency...managing the changing relationship and responsibility for aging parents...and adapting to the finiteness of lifetime as

one faces the death of relatives and close friends.

It is apparent that middle-aged people look to their positions within different life contexts -- body, career, family -- rather than to chronological age for their primary cues in "clocking" themselves. Often there is a differential rhythm in the timing of events within these various contexts so that the cues used for placing oneself in a particular phase of the life-cycle are not always synchronized. For example, one business executive regards himself as being "on top" in his occupation and assumes all the prerogative and responsibilities that go with seniority in that context, yet because his children are still young, he feels that he has a long way to go before completing his major goals within the family.

Women, more often than men, regard the middle years of life as a period of greater freedom for the self. It is not surprising, therefore, that many women tended to define middle age in terms of their present stage in the family cycle rather than by chronological age. Middle age is seen as beginning at about the time the youngest child reaches high school age. Energy and time which had previously been directed toward children and homemaking are now available for uses which could be self-determined -- which could be "inner-directed" rather than "other-directed" in focus. Some women regard this period of life as an opportunity to expand their activities or develop previously latent or dormant talents. For these women, middle-age was characterized not only by a marked change in activity, but by a major change in self-image, as well.

Men, on the other hand, tend to perceive and recognize their middle-age position in the lifeline from cues received outside of the family context. The deferential behavior accorded them by junior colleagues at work in various civic and social activities; their sponsoring of younger persons for positions of responsibility; any disparity between career-expectations and career achievements, that is, whether one is "on time," in reaching career goals -- these and other observations served to trigger a heightened awareness of age.

For example, a recurrent theme of some of the men we interviewed is the close relationship between lifetime and career movement. Career movement or change is viewed as feasible up to a certain age -- generally not much later than the early fifties. Thus, a man in his early forties who had gone as far as he could in his firm said that he was giving "serious thought to a change now. If I'm ever going to make a satisfactory change, I must do it now." A 47-year-old trust lawyer, who had moved at age 45 from a large corporation to another law firm, remarked, "I feel I got out at the last possible moment, because at 45 it's very difficult to get another job. If you haven't made it by then, you better make it up fast, or you're stuck."

Many men regard their increased attention and concern with health problems and energy conservation to be a salient characteristic of middle age. Concern over health, however, was seldom mentioned by the women

we interviewed despite the obvious signs and manifestations of the menopause during their late forties and early fifties. (It is a point worth mentioning, parenthetically, that both men and women tend to be woefully lacking in information regarding the effects -- or, more properly -- the lack of effects upon sexual functioning as well as upon physical and mental health resulting from the menopause and the related biological changes of the climacterium.) Both men and women recognized a shift in their general orientation to the body, with increased attention now being given to "body-monitoring" -- a term we used to describe the large variety of protective strategies used by middle-aged persons for maintaining the body at a given level of performance or in preparing for future decrements in function. Closer attention was focussed upon diet, rest and sleep than had been true at earlier periods; there was a shift in emphasis from a "youth-vigor" value system to one of "health-comfort-grooming."

Thus, for example a 56-year-old business executive, recognizing that regular physical examinations had now become a routinized part of his life, remarked "I began to go in for semi-annual check-ups about ten years ago. When you reach this age there are various changes in blood chemistry and so on that take place without your noticing them." Or, the 45-year-old attorney, "I think the physical changes occur first. Mentally you still feel young, but you begin to notice that your legs ache if you run up the stairs. You remember when they didn't. You get winded more quickly when you do physical activity, and those things all add up."

There were also indications of a changing time-perspective -- in the way individuals orient themselves to time and personalize the phenomenon of death as they move from young adulthood to middle adulthood. The restructuring of life in terms of time-left-to-live rather than time-since birth, the provision for social as well as biological heirs, "rehearsal for widowhood" that was common in women, but not in men; the awareness that time is finite -- these take on a saliency in mid-adulthood that is not so evident at earlier stages in the life-cycle.

Thus, a building contractor, aged 48, remarked: "You hear so much about deaths which seem to be premature. That's one of the changes that comes over you over the years, whereas young fellows never give it a thought."

The recognition that there is "only so much time left" was a frequent theme in the interviews. In referring to the death of a contemporary, one man, aged 48, stated: "There is now the realization that death is very real. Those things don't quite penetrate when you're in your twenties and you think that life is all ahead of you. Now you realize that those years are gone and with each passing year you are getting closer to the end of your life."

For some men and women, the death of the last surviving parent introduces a feeling of personal vulnerability. A 47-year-old author, in describing her reactions, said: "Both of my parents died within the last year

...and all of a sudden I have the sense of being vulnerable myself, a feeling that I didn't have before."

I shall short-cut the discussion of the aged, not because it is any less important a group in requiring the services of counselors, but because many of the issues of old age are implied in my comments about the middle-aged and because, given the attention they have attracted in recent years, the issues are likely to be better known to you.

A final word about counselors themselves -- not in terms of the personal qualities they should have, since you are better informed on that topic than I -- but in terms of their own age. Let me make explicit one of the implications that underlies many of my comments today: that different age-groups who live together at the same moment in history have different sets of values and attitudes because of their different experiential bases -- the phenomenon that the sociologist Mannheim had in mind when he spoke of "the non-contemporaneity of the contemporaneous." Nowhere is this matter so likely to be sensitive as in the relationship between counselor and client, where the very nature of the counselor's expertise rests upon his knowledge of real life and therefore on his ability to imagine what is motivating the next person. A young counselor is a real disadvantage if he deals with an old person, a point that needs no great elaboration here. But a young counselor is also at a real disadvantage if he deals with a middle-aged person.

A newspaper writer recently expressed some of the feelings of a sensitive middle-aged man in the following words:

"...the realization suddenly struck me that I had become, perhaps not an old fogy but surely a middle-aged fogy...For the train was filled with college boys returning from vacation...They cruised up and down the aisles, pretending to be tipsy...they were boisterous, but not obnoxious, looking for fun, but not for trouble...Yet most of the adult passengers were annoyed with them, including myself. I sat there, feeling a little like Eliot's Prufrock, so meticulously composed, buttoned-up, bespectacled, mouth thinly set... Squaresville...

"The division between the nations, or the sexes, or the races, is not so broad and unbridgeable as the division between the generations. Here, integration of any real sort is all but impossible: for the young do not really believe in age, and the older among us do not really empathize with youth. They cannot project, and we cannot retroject...Cannot or will not, it comes to the same thing...

"They are not as silly as they appear, and we are not as fogyish as we seem to be. But we are all trapped by our environment, the marionettes of time..."

I am not so sure as my newspaper friend that we are all locked within age-roles and that we cannot communicate across age lines. I do feel sure, however, that the typical middle-aged or the typical old client will bring with him into the counseling situation some such set of attitudes, and that in preparing counselors of adults we must make them aware of the great saliency of age factors as they operate in creating social and psychological issues for adults and as they operate to influence the very counseling process itself.

DISCUSSION II

Dr. Bernice Neugarten and Participants

Neugarten:

I think that somehow in a sense, we insult older people by presenting them with young counselors.

Participant:

Do you do the same thing if you present a younger physician, a younger social worker, a younger psychiatrist?

Participant:

Yes! It seems to me that professionals are getting younger as I am getting older. I have just had the experience for the first time in my life of going to a physician who is younger than myself.

Neugarten:

How do you feel?

Participant:

It bothers me. It bothers me.

Neugarten:

You are really asking me to generalize across the board. I only say that in the counseling situation this is particularly so. If you've got an occupation where expertise is great, as in medicine, where the freshest out of medical school knows the most, and you want to know whether he can read an EEG, and this is what you are concerned about that's different. But if you want to sit and talk with this doctor about some problem, you don't want to talk with a young doctor. You bet you don't. You want him to have read the latest blood chemistry, but you are not in the counseling role when you talk about that. As soon as you get into the role of the very personal kind of thing, then I don't think you want it.

Anderson:

The patient knows this guy has been through medical school and internship and must be an expert, but a social worker, or a counselor, does not appear to the client as having the same degree of training and expertise. It is like

social science, you know: every politician thinks he's a social scientist but he doesn't think he is a physicist. I think that you are right when you say that the counseling situation is much more sensitive than the medical situation, because you just don't have it written right over you that you are an expert.

Neugarten:

I agree, but what I am thinking about here is that most of our clients are middle-class. It is not expertise in technology at all; it is knowledge of the mind that is needed by a professional dealing with lower class people. There is a similarity here with regard to age. If you don't know the problem, if your client leads a kind of life that you couldn't possibly know, you are not going to get anywhere, are you? And that is what I say, we raise the flag right away to an older person coming in to a young counselor; "He couldn't possibly know."

Hoffman:

There is a problem when a counselor is led to feel by the client that he the counselor, is the expert and that he has the answers, and that he must come through with the answers, rather than that he has been trained and is prepared to help this client explore what answers may be available, and stimulate activity or what-have-you, to give some of them a try to see which seems more comfortable and what will work out. Now if you can very early in your relationship with any client, no matter what the age, convey this orientation that you are prepared to help him explore what answers might be available and ways to find them out, you may not be getting into this same problem.

Neugarten:

I think very, very aged people in institutions, for example, look to the younger doctors for support. And there is something very subtle going on sometimes. They make the doctor the child, and if the child will take the burden of the aging parent in the symbolic relationship, this works out very well. As a matter of fact, some psychotherapists use the technique very deliberately. But these are very special. This, again, is not the typical old person. And I am not sure that we are not getting off on the wrong track a bit, because I assume that many of you will never see old people as such in counseling. If you are going to stay in educational institutions, you may or you may not, I don't know.

Hoffman:

(Reports on counseling program for newly bereaved widows, ranging in age from the late 20's to 70's. This was primarily vocational counseling).

Neugarten:

Oh - a vocational counselor. Now I was going to suggest something quite different. If you had been a middle-aged woman who had gone in there, you could have done a better counseling job in some ways, not about vocational counseling, but sympathizing with widowhood and bereavement, the loss of the husband. In that situation, if the purpose was group therapy, a woman would have been a much better counselor.

Hoffman:

The counselor had gone through the same experience 5 or 10 years earlier.

Neugarten:

But again, I don't want to overdo this in the sense that I don't think we are so locked into our age roles that we can't stretch somewhat. But I do think we overlook this fact in regard to another comment that was made, that if we are going to start training counselors all of whom are young graduate students, we are not going to meet the need at all. Large groups of the population that we counsel are older, and therefore I would like to see a larger variety of age groups trained for these roles.

Senders:

You have mentioned age groups, but you have also mentioned sex. You have said or implied that to match sex is helpful and you have implied that to match social groups is helpful. I should think that just as there is an age hierarchy, there is a social hierarchy, and that just as a person would prefer to be counseled by somebody older, a person would prefer to be counseled by somebody the next step higher in the socio-economic hierarchy.

Neugarten:

It depends on how much of a gap there is. I would offer my impression that the lady bountiful never got very far with the culturally deprived. With the culturally deprived, the person who has made it up one step would be the better counselor. That is, the lower-class guy who got himself a steady job, or the post-delinquent who now counsels delinquents would probably be better off. If they are too far up, the gap gets too great.

Schletzer:

I would hope that this reliance on age and status wouldn't be too inflexible because we are constantly getting into situations and jobs where the counselor is not the older person. This is especially true with women returning to the labor force. If the woman is going to be threatened by a young boss or a

young boss is going to be threatened by an older person, opportunities for older women will be cut down. I know on my first job back on campus I was working with a brilliant young man, but this didn't bother him and it didn't bother me. I would have been penalized had he taken the easy way out, had he said, "I need a young man here," because he worked better with young people.

Neugarten:

But all I am saying is that age isn't the only thing, it is just one thing to pay attention to. Pay attention to it as a variable, but it is only one. For example, I have talked to a lot of middle-aged women who go back under younger bosses, and you talk to them for a few minutes, and you know they are clearly playing a nice mothering role with the boss. They know it and the boss knows it and they get along fine. Many young people can't stand this.

Lichterman:

I've heard of this very problem with women who are returning to teach -- middle-aged women -- and they were having a difficult time in the public school system in one town because the supervisor was threatening. These were people who had been out in the world and were not going to be pushed around as easily as some of the other teachers, and there were very real tensions.

Hopf:

It seems we are overlooking one fact in all this age situation, and that is the conditions under which they come and the problems with which they come. If they are seeking the expertise, and recognize the expert, then I don't think it makes any difference, or at least this has been my experience. I say let us not generalize to forget this.

Neugarten:

In some areas expertise may overcome age and in other areas it may not.

Hamilton:

I want to change the discussion a little bit: you said some very startling things about the role of the male in your talk and about the female playing more of a dominant role in the family situation, and certainly about the economic dependency on the parent being prolonged too. How do you see this as altering the pattern of the family for the future? I mean, you're talking about counseling. This is important about counseling where there are specific problems. The diminished role that the male will have in the family or in the dominance of the family, is going to alter this pattern later

on while he goes through life. I wonder if you could develop this?

Neugarten:

It is hard to know about whom we should talk right now. There are some young males, in my experience, who feel very threatened by the economic productivity of a wife, that is, the responsibility in the wife's hand, if she makes the living. Sometimes she has the children and makes the living. You know this whole business about, well - competence - is very threatening to some men. In the present group of middle-aged and older people...when you get into the 50's and 60's you see age reversal in this dominance role anyway. Not only the dominance of their own youth, but an increased dominance in the family of the female in late middle age and old age -- you get husbands saying, "Well, you know, Mama is the boss," or you get the hat tipping thing. We are convinced now that hat tipping is much more than etiquette. You get the female taking the position of responsibility and dominance; you get the psychological change in women that compared to men is really very striking; that is, women age differently from men. But we don't really have enough data, enough evidence, to be sure what's age change and what's historical change. Except, on this kind of thing, if you would expect a historical explanation, then you would assume that presently aged couples would have males dominating, because these were people that were raised in an era in which the males dominated. But we have got reversal, you see, with the female dominant in the 50's and 60's within the family role -- a course perceived, incidentally, by both the male and the female. So I can't tell you. Something is going to happen within the next 40 or 50 years. I do know that we haven't paid enough attention to the youthfulness in the parenting situation, and we certainly are impressed by the changing role of the male and the female in the parenting situation. That is, you have husbands not only helping with housework, but treating children in the nurturing role. I am much impressed by the young males who take pride in their competence in baby care. They can cook better than their wives, too. I am just simply assuming that over a time, this is going to produce a greater variation in the pattern that is going to be comfortable for people. That is, people now in their 40's who find the female highly dominant or who see their children marrying and see the female highly dominant, are less comfortable in this situation than the younger people. But I think our comfort patterns are shifting.

Siegle:

Well this is one case where the male is going to be dominant. (Thumps on the table).

Hopf:

I begin to find that many of the women I talk with are motivated perhaps by wanting to send the kids to college, but after those kids have gone to college,

the woman is going to return to volunteer work, I think. She is not interested just in money, she wants something else. She is not going to work for IBM any more. So I wouldn't put so much emphasis on the great dollar sign as being the be all and end all.

Neugarten:

No, I agree. I was just commenting on this yesterday.

Hopf:

This is the real problem. Finding out just what it is they want to do with the rest of their lives.

Grenfell:

Of course we have another concern. A year ago I did a survey of our evening students to find out how many of their needs are supported by the companies for whom they work. I found that out of 6,000 night students about 1200 of them had received more than 50% of the cost of their tuition and their books from 127 different companies. So we checked the companies to find out if there were restrictions and I found their restrictions were extremely liberal. Then I had to ask the question, "Why is it that we only have 1200 out of a possible 50,000?" Really we don't have the answer. Here these people are being bombarded because adult education is in order -- some of these companies will even pay for a liberal education if they can justify its composition -- they will allow people to take almost anything and they still have only 1200. Jane was talking about motivation and I am wondering about what lack of motivation there is with so many people not going into education when the price is negligible, especially when someone else is paying it -- all or in part.

Siegle:

I thought that she was talking about motivation and that the desire for money was the motive. This is one group really.

Hoffman:

I have worked with groups of volunteers over many years and you have to give them enough time and to help them to realize and find a meaning to what they are doing. You don't keep volunteers unless you do this on a regular basis. The productive life of a good volunteer is about two to three years. By the end of that time the pressures from the rest of the community become so great she asks herself and asks you, "Why can't I be doing this for money?", "Why can't I be doing this for a living?"

Hopf:

(Comments on women who have served in a high level volunteer capacity for a long time and their irritation when something happens, e. g., when somebody else is brought in and paid to do the job).

Hoffman:

One of the problems of the volunteer who begins doing it for money is that, like everybody else on the staff, he has a regular commitment to do certain things at certain times, and he doesn't really want this bit of a chain around his neck. He wants to be the "do-gooder", to have the essential freedom to come and go as he wishes, with perhaps a more loosely structed time commitment.

Hopf:

This will come too.

Grenfell:

There seems to be another problem for the volunteer, which is lack of acceptance by the professional staff, even though the volunteer may have as much training as, or more than, the professional.

Hoffman:

That is why you have this continual program to help them find meaning. You have to have this continuing program with them maybe once a week or maybe only once a month to help them find meaning in what they are doing. Even with the brightest and the best.

Grenfell:

Or maybe with the help of the staff.

Mulvey:

The findings in my study of 475 middle-aged women, all of whom had graduated from public high school, and many of whom had gone on to get bachelor's degrees, showed that many, many of them had done all sorts of things on a volunteer basis over a period of from 20 to 27 years. In answer to my question, "What are you going to do now?", these women showed a trend toward giving up volunteer work, and they were quite verbal about it. "I've had it," that kind of thing. They tended toward wishing to find paid employment. And my sample is probably more representative than your women.

Hopf:

Most of my women, of course, were married. The single women didn't do too much volunteer work anyway. They just didn't indicate that they wanted to, but the married women certainly did indicate that they wanted to.

Senders:

Mary, I think the difference between what your group showed and what Joan is talking about is the stage at which this sampling of opinion occurred. I think Joan's women have said the same thing as your women, and I think all of us have found that the middle-aged women who have come back to school have the same thing to say about volunteer work -- "I've had it!" But what Joan is talking about is the women who get training and become professionally competent and move on into the paid labor force, and find the paid labor force is not all it's cracked up to be because even though you get things, you also give up things. It is true that anything that is worth doing is worth doing for money, but there are some things that you can't do for money that they want to do and have been doing.

Siegle:

Because once you do it for money you are accountable.

Hoffman:

You are accountable for achievement, for results, and accountable to others.

Senders:

And doing things that you don't really want to do because that is part of the job.

Hoffman:

Right! That's part of the total job. Exactly!

Hopf:

Yes, but there is another facet here, because when a woman says to me, "I don't want to do any more volunteer work," then you begin to find out. If she wants to go into teaching and you're having a good working interview, you will say to her, "My feeling is that as a supervised volunteer working with a group of children, you would learn a great deal about yourself and about teaching." It is quite a switch. It is what they would be doing as a volunteer that we don't mention. Now there are a few women -- they have been raising money, they have been setting up luncheons. This has no meaning in 1965.

Neugarten:

There is another factor, and that is that volunteer work tends often to be more demanding and more prestigeful than the paid jobs these women can get, and vice-versa, so I think it is very difficult to make any generalization. Sometimes it is difficult to re-enter the labor market if your husband is a top-flight executive and the only thing you can get paid for is a low level job. So you are better off staying a volunteer in some ways. But it can also work the other way, as when some of them have "had it" in volunteer work. So you have all kinds of different patterns.

Lovell:

I have a question about the employees. When John Grenfell says that 1200 men are taking these courses, the implication is that everybody ought to want to go to school. Why would they want to go to school? There are two or three things we have talked about here: one is to advance themselves within their organization or to keep from becoming obsolete; but I don't think that a lot of men perceive it this way. They don't care too much whether they advance, they would rather have their satisfaction in something intangible or some other kind of hobby. I am concerned about this achieving society of ours. I wonder if as many people need to get those A.B. degrees as do. It's great; it's fun; I like it; I'm for it. But does the fact that I like it mean that everybody else needs to like it? Does it mean that they are better employees always, if that be their motivation? I'm just not sure. We assume that everybody should want to take advantage of something just because it is there.

Grenfell:

The professional engineering societies came to us and said, "One of the things that we sorely lack is a Master's degree in professional engineering." So we worked for three years with Oregon State to get a Master's degree program taught fully in the evening. Well this program has been in operation for four years now, and we have 40 engineers enrolled. So we are going back to the professional organization and saying, "Look, for four years now this program has not supported itself and we are going to have to terminate it." And we have gone out to the various companies to people that have their degrees -- it is interesting to see the various companies -- and the ones that employ the most engineers say, "Yeah, we'll pay their way if they really want to go, but we couldn't care less." Most of the smaller companies, particularly in electronics say, "Yes, we are encouraging our people to go, but for some reason or another we can't get them to go."

Neugarten:

There is not very much understanding of what a man's life is like. I mean,

why should a man go to night school? He's got three kids at home to demand his time anyway, and the company is not releasing his time by day I take it. What's the pattern in life in which you want these men to make changes?

Participant:

Yeah, but there is always concern about these people being replaced, and should they start a second career or be preparing for it?

Neugarten:

The implication here is that on top of everything else let's get you ready for a master's degree. You see, this is the implication for women: their education has to be timed differently. When it is spread out over different time periods, over more hours of the day, and so forth, it gets more takers, than if it is packaged like in college. Many of these programs don't take because they are designed without the knowledge of who it is they are being designed for.

Grenfell:

There is another resistance, and this is where an organization like NEBHE may be able to come in handy. These men will tell us that it is going to take four years or five years for them to be able to complete a degree program. I don't know that I am going to be here for five years, and I doubt whether what I take here will be accepted for credit somewhere else.

Neugarten:

It seems to me that you have a lot of "fit" problems. Is it really necessary that we take four or five years for a master's degree in engineering, or are we slowed up by a lot of course work that the middle-aged man feels is relatively meaningless? We are stuck with our formal systems though.

Farnum:

We have done a few studies at Rhode Island and we found that a particular type of person is coming to us. On the whole, our adult population, our male population, is well above average in intelligence. In fact, we equated their performance on scholastic aptitude tests with our people on our campus and we found no significant difference. So, number 1 - I think we are getting a population that is quite bright in terms of IQ. We found that a number of them expressed dissatisfaction with the television set. They want to get away from the "boob-tube" and back to something that is intellectually stimulating. We found on temperament and personality tests, that these people have a very high energy level. They are restless, they are energetic, they want to do something, they want to get ahead. They are "doing" oriented, they

are ambitious, they want achievement. So that I think that we are dealing intellectually and temperamentally, with a particular type of person.

Neugarten:

Sometimes you will be dealing with people who have had great failures behind them who feel that education is the remedy -- their restlessness may be more than restlessness.

Farnum:

We have just finished a study with our master's candidates trying to find out why there is such a significant difference between their undergraduate grade point average and their graduate grade point average. So we brought a group of them in who fit this particular pattern to see what it was. They had been to various colleges and their undergraduate grade point average was pretty much "C". They got into the graduate program because it was just starting and they were taking people with a "C" average, and lo and behold, their graduate grade point average was "A". So we brought them in and asked them what they thought had caused the significant difference between their undergraduate and graduate averages. It was just what we thought, in every case it was that "when I was an undergraduate my interest was in girls, senior proms, and local societies and sports. Now our motivation is entirely different. Now we have a wife, children and a job and our company is looking to us for further production."

Hoffman:

We learned this first from the returned veterans back in 1945, 1946 and 1947.

Participant:

Do you continue to take students with all "C's" into the graduate program?

Farnum:

I wish I could say yes.

Westervelt:

I am not too impressed with the graduate record because after all, in graduate school the most difficult thing is to be admitted. Show me the graduate professor who does give "C's", "D's" and "F's."

Farnum:

I'm interested. Some people are talking about the Miller Analogies Test. We

ran a correlation between scores in the Miller Analogies Test and the graduate grade point average, and the correlation was - .06, in a group of about 77 people.

Participant:

This is shaping up in just about every study.

Westervelt:

We've just finished a study at TC which was done to decide whether to use the MAT for admission and the decision has been to use it, because, although the correlations vary by department -- I am not ashamed to say that the correlation was lowest in our department and highest in clinical psych -- there were positive correlations across the board. But of course if I tell you what the cut-off scores were, you will wonder why we bother to use it; 35. So we didn't have the experiences that the rest of you describe, and Elizabeth Page, who ran the study, is pretty competent at this sort of thing.

Schletzer:

We got on to this a little bit last night and of course you are all a bit more experienced at this sort of thing than I am, but I wonder if some of the time that is used in testing couldn't better be spent in other ways. My experience with adult tests is that they are a very uneconomical way of finding out about the average adult, that is, giving tests that have been normed against college populations.

Sostek:

So they take just this single test score and they waive experiential growth in adult living experience, which is so pitiful. I know so many people who want to get into schools of social work in Boston, who have chased their tail, literally, for 5, 6 or 8 years. I know of a young man 38 years old who was counseled by us to get out of the advertising business, because it was a ridiculous business for him to be in -- a person who likes people, who likes to work with them, who was getting murdered in advertising. We wrote letters of recommendation, we did this, that, and the other thing. His MAT was around 45, and this was the reason advanced by our Dean of Social Work. I must thank Simmons for being willing to listen, only after this boy had gotten a job and worked as a social agency case worker for two years and gotten maximum recommendation from the entire staff -- and was rejected again by Boston University because his MAT was too low, and told finally by somebody at Simmons, "Come on aboard because you are showing interest and experiential growth." It is so ridiculous to equate a 45 MAT with 2 years of adequate experience, and say, "Oh, he is 38 so that also is against him. That is a little bit too old."

Neugarten:

But our educational system has been geared to adolescents and I really think we need a different kind of point of view.

Westervelt:

But the problem of admission really is acute, because what do you have to know? If you have his work record, if he has been in the field, there is the recommendation from his supervisors; you have his grade average in earlier places; some score on any objective tests may be unfair to certain students. But you know that it has been very interesting just starting on a NDEA institute this summer, and we have had the usual problems and struggles with the admissions people. We have this bright young man, he is 26 or 27, his work looks as though it should be pretty good...we sort of get a sense of the person. Everything else is fine but his supervisors say about him, "He is too brash. He tries to do too much, and this and that." You get a 45 year-old woman whose record is comparable in every way and the supervisor says, "Wonderful woman. You know, great. Do take her." You have to wonder whether these recommendations about the young man reflect anything about the young man or something about the supervisor. I suspect the latter.

Hoffman:

You are in the very interesting area of what do we evaluate and how do we evaluate it. If you take some test data and throw them into the computer, it takes them out of our hands and seemingly we feel comfortable. What happens to depth interviewing? What goes into it and how do you evaluate depth interviewing? Especially when all your rigorous research data show that what goes into it and what comes out of it will vary so much from interviewer to interviewer, how can you give what kind of credit to it? Or you come around to evaluating references. And who has ever made a really rigorous study of what goes into a reference? How do you write a reference?

Westervelt:

You do an injustice if you ignore these references. The point is to make a study of what goes into these recommendations so you will know what comes out of them.

Hoffman:

(Tells of somebody who goes to an 8-week NDEA Institute and comes back to his school and the school board looks at him and says, "Eight weeks at NDEA Institute? Terrific! Let's make him Assistant Superintendent." Laughter).

Neugarten:

I wonder if we could generalize about this a little bit. We don't have yet in the hands of educational institutions or counselors a set of criteria for selection or for assessing outcomes. And that is one of the problems that tests bypass because tests thus far tend to be based on a criterion of academic success, and academic success, again, is fitted into the young person's pattern. As soon as you move away from this you haven't got criteria. You worry about references, you worry about grades, you don't know what to do with a two-year experience in a case-work agency, so in a sense you don't have criteria. You are really faced with a counseling situation. I don't know why you are all worried about that. I can talk to a 40 year-old man and I can tell pretty well whether he can get along in this university that I am attached to or not. But I have to know my institution. I don't care whether a test tells me something or the next interviewer does, because the criteria have to be fitted to the situation this man is going to find himself in. But I think we are uneasy because we are fed up with testing and such things where in the last analysis the criteria are academic criteria, because in an IQ, or a Binet or a strong Vocational or a Kuder, in all of these the criteria rest so much in success in the academic situation.

Male Participant:

Is the problem that we have to do more refinement in this area? We have to use these tests as the single best evidence instead of the total of the evidence.

Westervelt:

We do use the MAT as just one of many criteria. But how many admission offices, Bernice, are staffed to do this kind of thing? (In discussion about the MAT, Neugarten says she wouldn't bother with it: "Take the people who are giving MAT's and scoring them and get them to interview some adults.")

But people do get into the institution and they spend their time, and their money, and they get 8 credits of "C," which is automatically "Out." Do we have any responsibility to try to choose those who will not waste their time and money this way? There is this other side to it: I happen to be very anti-test, and many people just wouldn't believe my sitting here this morning taking this point of view, but I have seen too many people who were broken because they couldn't make the grade.

Neugarten:

But my point, Esther, is not that you want to select people without a sense of responsibility, but on what basis are you doing the selection? You are using a badly matched set of criteria. I really am amazed at the number of times we use tests as if they really tell us anything.

Grenfell:

Bernice, how does somebody from San Diego or Seattle have an interview with Esther or yourself?

Neugarten:

We are here today, I thought, to decide what we would do about adults, about what kinds of counseling and training experience you do need if you are going to deal with adults.

Grenfell:

This is really what you were talking about. Talking with an adult and trying to decide whether this person can succeed at Chicago. You have to know the program, you have to know who the person is, you have to know about the institution. Will somebody in San Diego know this?

Siegle:

When you are talking about adults, for one thing, you are not normally talking about a person in San Diego moving into an institution in Chicago. Moreover, what you did say is that you need somebody who knows something about the program and something about the person involved. I was just thinking that if Bernice wanted to know something about the capacity of a person in Boston, she might ask me to interview him. Normally, in adult life the guy is there.

Neugarten:

Maybe what I am trying to say is something like this: if you tell me that a kid is 10 years old and that he has a Binet IQ of 140 and he has gone to a public school, I know a lot about him that is transferable. He can come from Chicago to Los Angeles, and in 10% of the cases I will be wrong, but in 90% of the cases I will be right. I know what this kid can do. And then you take me up to a 20-year-old and you tell me his IQ is so and so and his Kuder is such and such and he has gone to such and such a college and I am a little less sure. Now you get up into the 40's and I am not sure. I don't get any assurance out of assuming that there is some generality here. The life histories may be very different, tests don't give any clue; I would no longer think of that man as transferable without seeing him. But if I get to see him, I get to inquire about what I think I need to know for the institution with which I am dealing. Many times we get a false confidence out of a set of measures, assuming that people are alike. In what we were talking about last night, the longer people live, the more unlike they become.

Meyer:

As far as I know the instance that was given here for the School of Social Work at BU is unique. Most of us in social work place maximum attention upon an individual interview -- a very rigorous interview. Columbia, which has the largest school of social work in the country, insists on this, and if they cannot interview the person directly, they will send the person to a social worker in his area to get this kind of an interview. Apart from this, for the adult in the undergraduate area and those areas where there are programs for adults, I don't know any program -- correct me if I am wrong, those of you who have accepted adults without seeing them first. We certainly don't at Queens. We have a three-part admission procedure. We have a ten-page application form which is really a depth questionnaire, and we have a group interview, where we get seven people together and two interviewers. The main reason for this group interview is to judge how they will fit into the institution. All of their experience will be in seminars, and we want to see how they will function in a seminar. Now it is very, very expensive to do this, and the college has been willing to pay for it, and we would not run the program if the college were not willing to pay for it. That is all there is to it.

Schletzer:

I think that we are assuming that standardized tests do an injustice to adults. We have found in our experience with adults, the kinds of women that are coming back to our program can jump all over some of the abilities tests and cream them. That is, they are above average, compared with our undergraduates in the college of liberal arts. And Dave Campbell, who also has done some re-testing of the students who were in school 25 years ago, again found that adults are not penalized by these kinds of tests and they are predictive of what you do in school. If any of you have watched any of the studies on clinical versus statistical prediction, you usually find out that the statistical procedures predict a little bit better than do the clinical. A little earlier somebody alluded to the unreliability of results from an interview. I am a bit uneasy when you think that you can judge some body from an hour-long interview. There should be other criteria. (Here, she reports on a Minnesota study which showed that a formula which took into account a very large number and wide range of variables, was less satisfactory as a predictor than the simple formula that took into account only two or three variables).

Neugarten:

Since I am leaving, let me once again state my own formula. I don't want to monopolize this, but I do want to make it clear. You said that sometimes the adult creams the test. I am just saying that the economics of test data collection and how much time is put into their collection is a tremendously important thing. The question is, can you learn that much from the tests?

I don't know the evidence you are quoting right now, that the test is better than the interview, but I am just wondering if the results are as worthwhile as they are for adolescents when you are predicting a relatively known outcome which is academic achievement. For example, all of us who counsel adults know that whether this man who comes into your program is going to succeed or not is based not only upon his tests, it is based upon his wife and what she says and does - and how about his kids? The motivation gets very different in an adult from that in a young person. I think you should deal with those factors.

Schletzer:

I would agree with all these points, but what we really need is more research. Let's not throw one thing out without doing a little more research and getting a little more evidence.

Hoffman:

Industry has come to grips with part of this problem. A firm like Raytheon in the field of electronics back in the 1930's was planning expansion, from 34 thousand personnel to 50 thousand personnel over a period of two or three years. They were using a group of psychologists to help them in their selection.

Number 1, they did what you were saying, Bernice, about knowing your own institution, your organization. They had very clear job descriptions to begin with. With support for managerial, technical, and scientific executive personnel, they had clear job descriptions to begin with.

Number 2, they had clear employment-application blanks, they had received a resume from the applicant, they had a slew of well-used tests in industry, many of which were known and used in school programs. Then they had a depth interviewer. The depth interviewer would spend about an hour and a half to two hours and take all the case material, hold it up against the job description and come out with some general statement about the total fit of the job description with this individual with this background. Prior experience, test reports and all the interview structure were related to all the data that he had beforehand, and they did very well.

Participant:

Raytheon has the highest turnover of executives known.

Hoffman:

Right! And the program was thrown out.

Siegle:

They were successful in getting the right type of guy up to the point where they got the type of guy who would not stay there but would move on.

Kilby:

I think you make a big mistake in one way when you talk about the company. There is no such thing as "the company."

Neugarten:

No, that is not what I mean. Maybe these were excellent criteria because maybe the criteria should have been for a man able to grow and move, whereas you think the criterion should be what makes the stock market rise. And that is exactly my point. The criteria shift, and they are not how good the grades are.

Kilby:

No, but I think actually you take too much for granted. For example, you take the company educational program: who follows the company educational program? Usually a nearby college sells graduate courses to the company. A person who is striving for something, but doesn't know what he is striving for, says, "If the company sponsored these courses they must be primarily for the advancement of the people who work in the company." Nothing could be further from the truth. The company says it will arrange a vacation or something or other for you. That doesn't mean that it sends anybody on vacation who doesn't want to go. So people take company courses -- why? Well, because the company sponsors them. The company permits it through its agency, usually industrial relations. Usually anybody that is in charge of "Company Education" has to have a great number of people involved or else his job is no good. You have a man with a problem, and you don't want to deal with him specifically so you say to him, "Look, you do not have the specific knowledge in X and you have to get this knowledge." The man feels that if he does, he is going to get something. By the time he gets this knowledge, the man who told him that has moved on. So he comes back and says, "I now have knowledge of X." Somebody says, "Yes, you now have knowledge of X but now you are cross-eyed so you will have to get your eyes fixed."

One of the first things that one is required to do, at least in my own case, is to start all education with the understanding that the people taking it are not going to get all that they are looking for, at least not by this method. Adversity is the best teacher and we can plan on adversity. If we are going to use the individual to the best of his capacity in the plant, he doesn't have to leave the wife and kiddies at night to go to school. If he knows any of the principles whatsoever of business, he can find plenty of education right where he is. But

most people don't want to. You can't condemn them if they don't want to. I have no hesitation in saying that I do not feel responsible for the success of any human being except to make the conditions proper so that the average human being can find his human fulfillment, if you want to call it that -- but self-determination for me is a better word. If he doesn't have that, he is not going to get it through school, he is not going to get it through counseling, he has to work at it 8 hours a day, 7 days a week.

I have participated in the biggest educational program of this type in the United States -- the General Electric Advanced Management Institute, which I might point out to you was not sponsored by the company, but by the president of the company. When the President of the company moved on it was thrown out.

Neugarten:

I would like to react to something and try to state it more clearly. That is, when you deal with adults, the whole notion of responsibility is a different one than when you deal with youngsters. Some of us would be more comfortable if we could really believe that. We are constantly taking responsibility for children and adolescents. We don't really have responsibility for adults in any way at all. It would make us a little more comfortable if we thought that our counseling or our educational opportunities really weighed in quite the same way. You do have people who are much more self-directing and who are much more focused as a source of the decision-making. They really choose and pick. They are going to shop counselors just as they are going to shop everything else. We will be more comfortable if we realize that is the way people are when they get to be 30, 40 or 50, to say nothing of 60 and 70. When you talk about counseling people in industrial situations, when you think about experience people have had in pre-retirement counseling, moving up the age range a bit, I think it has become even more complex.

Patzer:

I would like to report on an experiment, but I am not sure it has any validity for what we are discussing. AT&T altered their pattern of recruitment this year in Vermont by sending a man up for two weeks to get a depth picture of the institution, look through the year book, the newspapers, the dean's list, and select people to be interviewed by them on the basis of criteria which they had established for their own companies. Then they interviewed the faculty members who were closest to these people they were selecting, and found there was a sharp difference between what they said in their letters of recommendation and what they said in person. They threw out all the letters of recommendation, and they feel they are going to try to continue this pattern although it is a costly one in terms of sending the man out to the campus to do this. It was very interesting from that standpoint. They felt that the letters could be thrown out and they thought they would save faculty

time by the hour they spent interviewing, the hour that would be spent perhaps in drawing up a letter which was vague and misleading anyway.

Hoffman:

As much as any of us use letters of recommendation and reference, few of us have done any research in what goes into such a letter. Can you think of anybody using as a reference a person that he does not think will give him a terrific push? Hardly! It wouldn't make much sense. But on the other hand, you could analyze the letter of recommendation to see how much of this can be objective and how much of it must necessarily -- and you want it so -- be subjective. Then you formulate all your questions specifically, and formulate in such a way that your answers can provide you with consistency between your reference letter and whatever it is your application form asks. Then you could cross-check.

Lovell:

I think you make an assumption that cannot be proved. That is that what a man says is more valid than what he writes. I know that we all have this intuitive feeling but I am not sure that it is true. When you write it you think carefully, when you talk to somebody you are going to give him little tidbits here and there, that may or may not be as indicative of the student's potential as what you might write. I don't think it is worth research.

Hoffman:

It is worth research because ethics are involved here.

O'Hern:

But many placement offices are now telling people "Don't write anything that is too negative because you may be held legally responsible for what is written there." I am now seeing one thing in writing and then when I talk to the person, if it is a person I know, he will say, "Well I had qualms and if you had read between-the-lines, you would have seen them."

Siegle:

In this case the interviewer is evaluating a person, and he is evaluating the professor, and which is more valid is open to question. They still don't know whether it works. What I want to underscore here is how far can we go in the counseling process in making decisions about a person -- where to guide him or how to help him -- on what I would call at the moment, this intuitive basis. When I make a decision on a student that "this is a stinking student" or that "this is a great student," that is the only thing I know that I have to go on.

Participant:

To reinforce what you said, I think it is interesting that the same stereotypes about some of the faculty members responding were reinforced by the interviewer.

Participant:

But why can't you weld different kinds of data, including the test data, into the counseling situation? I don't see any problems here. (Refers to Air Force studies where the interviewing data were used in the prediction of pilot success).

Neugarten:

I am not objecting to the use of tests. I am objecting to them when they are used in place of something else. Sometimes a test is exceedingly useful.

Participant:

I have a strong feeling that all the data you can assemble, all the little bits of information taken as a lump sum by an experienced counselor, are most useful to anything that we can do. This includes tests.

Neugarten:

It is a question of economics.

Jervis:

There is an assumption I don't like here. Practically all the testing we do in the United States today is of something inside the individual. This holds up pretty well when you talk about academic achievement. But when you are talking about life -- work, marriage, etc. -- we know there are no such things as the characteristics that make a good wife or a good husband, or a good business man. All of the industrial testing programs have found that there are one or two things that you look for in a person, knowing that if he has them he won't function well in the situation. The whole concept of testing when you get to the adult world has shifted from measuring something inside the individual to measuring some process that you know will relate to his functioning.

Schletzer:

But we don't know in the adult area what the criteria for success in any of these areas are. We don't know what is success as an executive.

Neugarten:

That is my point. The criteria normally shift. That is the problem. Now I wouldn't put any great effort into establishing test results when I know my criteria are going to shift. If I had umpteen million dollars and umpteen thousand researchers, maybe I would do this, but it is a question of where I should put my resources at the moment.

Participant:

Bernice, do you know of further research on testing for adults? Do I read this into your statement?

Neugarten:

No, I would decide what I most needed to know and I would put my research effort into that. I would not be guided by an educational institution that has been working with adults and children, assuming that what I have learned about them is transferable. The problem is that we are guided by the assumption that what has worked for them is useful because it is transferable to the adult. I really question that.

Participant:

Personally, I don't think we have really done enough research on this. You indicate that for the 5-year-old with IQ and the other information given, we could do a good job of prediction. Doesn't this mean that we have isolated certain factors which are fewer in the case of a child than in the case of the adult? Is there a possibility that we are only scratching the surface? I have been much disturbed by this. Also, we have been bandying this word motivation around, I would like for someone here to tell me just how this motivation operates. I think we all assume we know this. I have yet to find the person who does. I also wonder and question the desirability of trying to instill motivation, and motivation for what? Because this presupposes a set standard toward a desirable goal that we conceive of.

Neugarten:

I won't attempt to answer the question on motivation right now, but I do agree with the last point you have made. I don't think I can decide for that person. In the case of 5-year-olds all we have done is to isolate what we know is a significant area of life for them and that is how they do in school. This is not the same for a 40-year-old. What he does in school is not that significant and it can't be isolated this way. Wasn't it your study, Mary, in which intelligence of women was least predictive of their success?

Mulvey:

Yes.

Neugarten:

It is difficult to isolate just what is important when it comes to the university. Nobody with low IQ comes in to talk about admission into a doctoral program. I don't have to worry about that. He hasn't got through a master's program without having a high enough IQ. But that doesn't tell me very much about what he is going to do. I have to know why he is coming, what is his career pattern, what about his wife, what do his children think, will he stick with this, and these things are totally unpredictable by any test that I now have, so that if I have to make a judgment and I've only got an hour or two for this man, I have to decide whether I will use 30 minutes of this testing time to ask more about his life. You have to make a choice.

McGee:

You don't use the same set of things. You have to make a decision. I think you can translate this over to testing. If intelligence is not a factor in this, why use it?

Neugarten:

I'm saying I don't. I can say, "What's your academic preparation, man?", and if he says to me, "I got a master's degree from the University of Chicago" then I don't have to bother testing his intelligence. With a man who never went to school, I have to go further, obviously.

McGee:

What I am saying is that I think we try to use the same set of measurements throughout. I am saying I think we need more instruments to measure something.

Farnum:

We have decided that the best criterion for the selection of graduate students is whether or not they continue successfully in the program. As the result of some studies we did we finally developed this method of intake. We have some interviewers who are available at certain times to interview each applicant for a master's program in business administration. The psychologist sits down and talks with this individual for an hour or an hour and a half. He knows the university, he knows the individual's test scores, he knows how long he has been out of college, which we find to be the best predictor of success. The longer the student has been out of college the better he does, and this is something. With the success in our graduate program the correlation point.

is .67. The second best predictor is his undergraduate grade point average. The psychologist has references, the student's transcript, and he has one other thing -- I can't remember what it is. On the basis of all the test data, all the background information, depth interview, we then make a detailed written recommendation to the dean of the graduate school. And finally we end up saying, "This is an above average, below average, or average candidate for this program," and we shoot the recommendation through. Then the dean says "yes" or "no."

Neugarten:

I just want to comment on what your comment implies to me. You haven't got a captive audience of adults, all of them going through an educational system. Therefore, you have to worry a great deal more about selectivity. Who comes to your program? It is not the whole wide array of 40-year-olds. Whereas in high school you have got everybody. Now this is what I mean by matching the institution. Your program is appealing to certain kinds of people on whom the predictors are going to work. If you move to a different institution the same predictors may not work at all. And this is what I am really trying to keep saying here: You are not dealing with the same kind of continuum, the same range of people or abilities and therefore the predictors go off.

Farnum:

What I am saying is that here is a technique that has definitely lowered the drop-out rate.

Neugarten:

What you're saying is that what you have done has worked for you. It is not going to work for all adults in all educational institutions nearly as well as what works for tenth graders is going to work in all tenth grades.

Westervelt:

Well, you're talking about normalized tests. When you do norming of tests, in other words the MAT, we norm it to our own population. Now what happens? You then admit those who by your norms suited the place at the time you admitted them to it. Meanwhile, the social situation changes, and you may be building, no matter what criteria you are using, something for your institution that can in the long-run be its downfall. But what else are we going to do? Try and train the people in the front office to be pretty close to what is happening in the world rather than what is in the institution.

Participant:

Revise selective criteria every two years.

Neugarten:

You must keep people in the front office highly advised of what is going on outside and what is going on inside.

Participant:

They need a bridge.

Neugarten:

If our world is indeed this complex and changing so rapidly, the counselor must be finely attuned to these changes, and immersed in them. He has got to know what is going on. Are there any further considerations with respect to training? What has come over me very strongly in these last few days since I've been here is the need to keep counselors trained to that which they are going to counsel about.

Bryant:

When the counselor tries to help the individual achieve a state of readiness to apply himself, does the individual not know more about himself, and perhaps his potential than the counselor does? Having been exposed to this opportunity to explore his readiness and his true values? Dr. Bunting at Radcliffe made the comment that energy, in the last analysis, is the most vital of the determining factors of success in a given area. The most effective way to find one's congruent self would appear to me to be to bring the individual into a frame of reference where he or she sees himself as related to a given situation effectively. Of course we profit from bringing in a great range of persons from their ordinary pursuits, whether they are housewives or whatever, so that they can have a conditioning process to know themselves and to delineate their primary goals. Once they get this frame of reference, they seem to succeed much more adequately than does the person who is just shopping around, without a precise goal.

Neugarten:

I agree with you. We have been talking about educational selection this morning. I want to point out that it is only going to take a small number of adults at any point in time that I can foresee. That is, adults going into formal institutional programs. But there are lots of other places where you are going to be counseling adults. Part of the bind, it seems to me, is in counselor training. In the educational institution, we are operating with

expectations of adolescence in an institution that has been geared to adolescence, and it is very clear today that we must worry about how to fit an educational system to adults when the system hasn't been built for adults before. Maybe non-educational institutions are different but are less binding. I have an idea that people in private practice, in the clinic, or other institutional settings who counsel adults are not quite so worried about fitting the institution to the adult. I mean the client somehow is dealt with as a client. In the educational institution you always deal with him as if he were a different kind of client.

Grenfell:

I'm going to change the subject. You said yesterday that none of these people about 40 and later talked about difficulties that had to do with change of life.

Neugarten:

No I didn't say that. I said there was a great deal of lack of information about the effects of menopause or climacterium upon sexuality and the sexual pattern.

Grenfell:

I was going to ask if they didn't talk about it, how do you encourage them to do so?

Neugarten:

No, we were saying something different last night. I'm not saying that people don't talk about their sex life. As a matter of fact they will talk more freely about sex than they will about money. I have had this experience, people say to me, "Oh you didn't ask me anything important in this interview." And I say to them, "Well what do you mean by important?" They say, "Oh you didn't ask me anything about my sex life." So we ask them about their sex life. Otherwise they are not happy, you know? Now we are talking about the area of research, and research is a very interesting thing. For example, I was commenting at breakfast, you can't get young people to talk to old people about dying. Not because old people won't talk about it, but because young people won't talk about it. They are frightened of it. So you can get a few interviews to play to the young people about old people talking about death -- they won't go out and interview about it. We seem to have all of our own binds and our own commitments that are age-related, and I just don't want to leave the conference without saying something about that. Let me give you a very extreme example here of what I have in mind: I went once to talk to a group of ministers about aging. I went in in the same sort of position that I am here. I was in there for two days and I never heard the word "death," not once.

Lichterman:

Were they Christian Scientists?

Neugarten:

Nope. I heard all about how the church should help the social activity of old people, and how the church should be a center, and how the minister should take the church to the home of the disabled aged, and I never once heard the word "death," and I couldn't understand it. I said, "Why don't we talk about something that I think old people want to hear about and talk about?" But you see we are blinded someways by areas of taboo, and to me this was extreme. To be in a group of ministers who never saw the relationship to what they were doing and aging, and that what they did somehow had something to do with helping old people get adjusted. Well, young people have blindness about old people and old people about young, and all the rest of that. But here in the counseling of adults, we also have blinders, particularly if we have been operating very much with young people. Not ourselves being young or old, but... the educational institution provides for us sets of experiences and they are hard to shake up sometimes.

Hoffman:

It is very important to make sure in the practicuum or intern experience we provide opportunities to observe and participate in the widest variety of kinds of experience, so that the young counselor or the developing counselor will not himself feel too anxious when getting into these areas of discussion. More often it is the counselor rather than the client who is more concerned and anxious about it.

Meyer:

This is not only true of counselors, but also of ministers, of social workers, of nurses and other ancillary medical professions. I did my dissertation in group counseling with nursing students and this is one of the things that I conscientiously brought up several times, because they had anxieties about dealing with very sick people. In the discussion about why do you have these anxieties, the question of death came about. They were all young girls, all 17, 18, 19 year-olds, and I found the same thing when I was in medical social work, and worked in the hospital. The only ones who were really comfortable with this were the physicians, even the young physicians.

Westervelt:

It doesn't seem to work out that way in hospitals. The physicians are most reluctant to tell a patient that he is going to die, that his illness is fatal.

Lichterman:

Well that is a different thing, isn't it?

Meyer:

They will discuss it among themselves. You see, the other professionals couldn't even discuss it among themselves.

Bernice:

Most doctors that I know about, deal with death as if it doesn't exist as far as the patient is concerned.

Participant:

You mean talking about it with the patient?

Neugarten:

Yes. I mean they take care of health but they don't take care of death.

Senders:

I would like to go back to where we were a few minutes ago. We talked a lot about tests, references, and interviews and things that tell us a lot about the person who is being counseled. I have been sitting here mulling over the possibility that one difference between counseling an adult and counseling an adolescent is that the adult already knows a great deal about himself and this is one kind of data that we don't have to give him in the same way that we have to give it to the young person. He is, however, more keenly aware than the young person of his lack of information about other objective things. Such as the job, or the educational situation he is moving into, and he is not really secure in his methods of making decisions. I would like to tell, briefly, a story I told Bernice and a few others at lunch yesterday, about an Air Force selection study in which the Air Force was concerned with selecting personnel for service in the Arctic. It had a high turnover rate among Arctic personnel, and it wanted to get people who would extend their tours of duty and would serve well in the Arctic. This is a place where there is a good deal of suicide, neurosis, alcoholism and various other problems. Long studies were conducted, correlation matrices were prepared, and as the study went on there was one item that kept coming up with very high correlations with all criteria in all the studies. Finally somebody got around to looking back to the original tests to see what this item was, and it was one question on a test or interview or on an application form that said, "Would you like to serve in the Arctic?" If you said "yes" that was your absolute best predictor that you'd do well there.

Lovell:

Well, Virginia, I'd like to agree with you up to a point on adults knowing themselves. I think that's right. But I think they do not know themselves in a perceptual way. They have not put it together, and one role the counselor can play is to help them put it together and see it in focus. And then this self-development, this use of information, this use of advice, is even more meaningful. I agree with what Bernice was saying a moment ago, that we have got to look at the adult, not so much at fitting the setting to him, and so on, as we do in selection for college. We have got to look upon him as much more of an independent choice-maker, but a choice-maker on the basis of things he does know brought into some kind of focus and concept. That is where the counselor can perform a more real function.

Neugarten:

I would like to say that when you deal with an adult you deal with a life history. You don't deal with a life history in the adolescent in the same way. When the adolescent is experimenting and choosing a field, he doesn't have to fit what his new choice is into a long commitment pattern. When the adult is faced with the choice, Shall he go to college, or shall he not? or Shall he leave the company, or shall he make a change? he has got to make some kind of fit with a long commitment pattern -- career, family, and all the rest of it; and that makes a big difference. So that if he doesn't know himself, you are quite right, you have to help him know himself, but again within a pattern. You can't expect that an adult is going to make radical and dramatic changes unless there is something basically off with the man. If a 45-year-old comes into a counselor and says his life is a mess and he doesn't know where he is going, this is a very different kind of a problem from an 18-year-old who doesn't know where he is going. Then, again, we have to be sort of geared for this because we can't assume that the adolescent or the adult is operating in the same framework or that the consistency in time pattern isn't so totally different. They are different is what I am trying to say, and you have to deal with them differently.

Southworth:

An important thing that we haven't touched is counseling as a sustaining relationship through some transitional period. I would like to share an experience. We started a new doctoral program in counseling psychology at Massachusetts and we sort of knew in advance that it would be a high stress situation. That's just the way the department works. So we built into this, the very first semester, a seminar which is basically a supportive and sustaining kind of experience for the student. They have to pass the same hurdles; their academic credentials in this new program are probably a little bit under the model credentials for other graduate students in psychology,

but so far this has worked and it has worked beautifully. The students came through the first semester, they finished well, they are confident now, they are looking ahead, and doing pretty constructive kinds of things and they are not running scared like 50% of the other students. We have got a lot there for adults too. I can think of an undergraduate adult I have been working with. He was a paratrooper. He was out in the world, and he was doing big and important things, and he is in as a freshman now, digging into all these little petty courses and he is having a hell of a hard time.

Neugarten:

The old people that come back should have somebody to hold their hands for a bit because there is a tremendous difference for a middle-aged person to sit in a class with adolescent kids. The security feeling here is very important. When you hold their hands for a while they will go ahead.

Senders:

If there are enough of them, they can hold each other's hands. The veterans did it, the Minnesota Plan women do it, and the women in some of the other programs do as well.

Hoffman:

You need someone there as a kind of a guide so that it's not the deaf leading the halt, leading the blind, and so that they don't go off in all directions. But to return for a moment to the difference in counseling with young and counseling with adults. With the young it is terribly important to help them identify the area of potential that will ultimately be developed, because of a depth and strength of interest that they may use as a source of energy. Whereas for the adult, by and large, in the 40's and 50's, their potentials have been developed, and you have to help them to re-structure and re-pattern it all. You stretch out and make one of their areas of developed skills and abilities fit into the framework of the kinds of jobs that may now be available which means, therefore, that you must know a good deal about employment.

Neugarten:

Develop the potentials within a pattern that is already well-established and with the jobs that are available.

Hopf:

I am not sure at all that the potentials have already been developed even in a stable, mature, willing, giving, person who perhaps wants to go into, let's say, the study of human relations -- this is the catch-all. I don't think she

knows much about herself.

Hoffman:

This may be so of the housewife, particularly because of the broken step career she has had. Maybe it would be less so for the male or for the career woman who has been in the world of work.

Neugarten:

My point is really more like Joan's, in the sense that I think there is a lot of potential in adults, but whatever it is, it has to be fitted into a lifetime that they can't escape. And your woman who wants to go into human relations is not going to do it without considering the family and the children and what she's committed to, like an adolescent can, and therefore you have to do it differently.

Schletzer:

For most people it isn't that much of a change. Most people are consistent enough so that all their decisions will lead eventually to their family welfare.

Meyer:

This is true of the clients we are used to. The middle-class client returning to school. But for the great area of counseling which is yet untouched, that is, with the disadvantaged, the thing that we brought up at our meeting and sort of left us with a bombshell -- what do you do? Really nothing effectively has ever been done for the typical hard-core welfare client who turns to us for counseling. Now how do you reach these people, train counselors to reach them, where do you want them to go? This is a whole area which is going to be completely different from the kind of counseling we have been used to and the kind of counseling we easily have so far translated from adolescent to adult.

Siegle:

We are 15 minutes over. I think that this conversation comes closest to what we have to do in our task force. I think we will have coffee and then proceed as soon as possible to task force meetings.